

AUTHENTIC
MEMOIRS
Of the remarkable
L I F E
AND SURPRISING
EXPLOITS
OF A
MANDRIN,
CAPTAIN-GENERAL of the *French*
SMUGGLERS,

WHO

For the Space of nine Months resolutely stood
in Defiance of the whole Army of *France*.

WITH THE

Copy of an intercepted LETTER, from one Chief
to Another, relating some curious Particulars, con-
cerning the Taking of MANDRIN.

Translated from the FRENCH.

To which is added,

A Geographical Description of those Cities, Towns and Cas-
tles on the Frontiers of *Savoy* and *Switzerland*, and in the
Southern Provinces of *France*, which were the principal
Scenes of Action.

With a curious Print of MANDRIN.

L O N D O N:

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AUTHENTIC
MEMOIRS
OF THE
LIFE
OF
MANDRIN,
CAPTAIN-GENERAL of the *French*
SMUGGLERS.

THAT Smuggling is the Original of many other Vices and Enormities, besides those which affect Trade, is evident from the atrocious Villainies perpetrated by the Wretches who follow this illicit and clandestine Practice. They are, in Truth, the declared Enemies of their Country, Violators of the Laws of Society, and in Combination against common Honesty and Justice. Was the Mischief of no worse Consequence than to defraud the King of his Dues arising from the Customs, it is
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certainly very great, and an Injury both to the King and Country ; because all Customs are established for the Maintenance and Support of Government and the Dignity of Majesty, both which are essential to the very Being of a State. In *France*, indeed, but one Set of People are immediately affected by it, namely, the Farmers-General, who are empowered to collect the Customs, after they have been settled by Arre'ts of State, paying the King such Sums of Money thereout, as by Computation they are supposed to amount unto. This Method, no doubt, eases the Government of the Trouble and Expence of employing an Army of Officers in the Collection ; yet I don't apprehend it affords any Relief to the Subject ; for I believe the Farmers are more rigorous and oppressive in their Methods of collecting these Imposts, than in those Countries where they are gathered by the Officers of the Crown. Because the Farmers having no settled Salaries, take the more Liberty in imposing Exactions upon the Subject, to make their Places the more beneficial to themselves ; and Complaints of their Oppressions, unless the Grievance is very enormous, are very little regarded : For which Reason the Farmers are generally the Objects of the publick Hatred ; and the People never discover a more sensible Pleasure, than in seeing any of these Officers punished for their Misdemeanours. And if the Smugglers had injur'd Nobody but the Farmers, the People would rather have rejoiced at, than pitied these Gentlemen for the Depredations that have been made upon them of late by those Outlaws. But when they invaded the Persons and Properties of Gentlemen at their Country Seats, of the Religious in their Monasteries, and even of Magistrates in their several Towns and Districts ; when their Numbers were so increased that they were divided into large Bodies, each under the Command of some bold daring Chief, and all of them well armed, disciplin'd, and ready for any desperate Enterprize ;

prize ; it was high Time for the Government to interpose, and put a Stop to such flagitious Proceedings, which, it suffered to go on without Restraint, might, in Time, endanger the State itself.

IN *England*, where the Laws are not so severe against Offenders of this Kind as in *France*, the Smuggler is only imprisoned till he pays such a Sum of Money as it shall be proved he has defrauded the King of in his Customs ; unless Murder has been committed in resisting the Officers in their Attempts to seize the Goods smuggled, in which Case the Punishment is certain Death, as indeed it ought to be.

I REMEMBER a very bloody Scene of this Kind acted about seven Years ago in that Country. A Gang of them had broke open the King's Warehouse at *Pool* in *Dorsetshire* and taken thence a large Parcel of Goods which had been seized from the Smugglers and lodged there. The Officers took one of them, and sent him to Goal, for which the rest vowed to be revenged. The Collectors of the Customs having some further Information concerning them, sent two of their Officers with a Letter to a Justice of the Peace, who lived at some Distance, desiring he would assist them in what they came about. They, in their Ride, happen'd to bait at a Place where several of these Smugglers liv'd ; who knowing the Officers, and suspecting they had some Design upon some of their Fraternity, resolv'd to take this Opportunity to execute their Vengeance upon them, in Requital for the Imprisonment of one of their Number. Accordingly they took them in Hand, and were nine Hours in torturing one of the Officers, and then buried him alive ; the other, they took to an old Turf-house, where they kept him in Chains three Days and fed him on Bread and Water ; then having cut out one of his Eyes and almost the other, and his Nose near off, with other cruel Circumstances, they took him to a dry Well, thirty Foot deep, in which they hanged him till he was
half

half dead, and then threw him in, and hearing him groan, threw great Stones down upon him till they had killed him. In all the Histories I have read, and of all the Barbarities I have heard related, never did I meet with an Instance where Cruelty was carried to such an Excess as here. We see here two Men suffering the most cruel Torments that Malice itself could invent, without any Provocation, and for no other Crime but doing their Duty to their King and Country. So strong an Impression did the Story make upon me at that Time, that I never think of it, even now, but with Horror.

Now, if we should compare our *French Smugglers* with these *English Desperadoes*, I believe the First will be judged much less criminal than the Latter. For I don't find that *Mandrin*, or any of his Gang, were ever guilty of Murder in cold Blood, or kill'd any Man, but when they were first threaten'd, or in their own Defence: We come now to the Subject of our Narrative.

ABOUT the Beginning of *October 1754*, the Court was informed, that the Smugglers committed great Disorders in the Provinces of *Dauphiny* and *Auvergne*, where they obliged the King's Officers to buy their Tobacco, Salt and other Goods at such Prices as they themselves put upon them. Upon which some Troops were ordered to march to that Quarter, in order to disperse these seditious People, whose increasing Numbers began to render them formidable. For according to the best Accounts that could be procured of them, taking their several Bodies together, even so early, they fell little short of 2000 Men, commanded by broken Officers, exceedingly well armed, and under strict Discipline. The Troops sent against them consisted of 6000 Men, headed by a General Officer: Which shews, that the Smugglers were not only to be dreaded for their Numbers, but that by their Courage and Discipline they were able to cope with regular Troops. And indeed if

we consider that their Leaders had all of them been Officers in the Army, and whose Swords were all their Fortune, we need not wonder that, upon their Discharge from the Service, they should fall into a Way of Life so suitable to their Profession, or that they should keep up such a strict Discipline among their Followers, since it was what themselves had been accustomed to, and without which, no great Actions or Enterprizes could be executed.

MANDRIN, who was the Chief or General of the whole collective Body, was born in *Dauphiny*, where, and in *Savoy*, he was very well known. He was about thirty-six Years old, of a comely Countenance, tall, well-set, robust, and very nimble and active. To these excellent Endowments of the Body was join'd a quick Wit and sound Judgment, a free and polite Carriage, a mild and serene Temper, yet quick in resenting an Offence; to which may be added an Intrepidity which carried him through the most dangerous Enterprizes, with an admirable Coolness and Presence of Mind amidst the greatest Difficulties and Dangers: So temperate and sober, that Wine never overcame his Reason; so patient and indefatigable, that he would venture upon any desperate Attempt, or undergo any Hardships to gratify his Ambition. In short, he seems to have wanted nothing but Opportunity, and a Post suited to his Talents, to make an illustrious Figure in the first Rank of Honour. During the late Wars in *Italy* he had a Post in the *French* Army, in which he behaved with that Affability, Valour and Conduct, as gained him the Esteem of all his Fellow-Officers. But as he valued himself upon his Honour, which he never suffered to be tainted or obscur'd with a base Action, so his Resentment was never so quick or active, as when any Reflection, tho' it had the most distant Resemblance of an Affront, and perhaps jocosely meant, seemed to affect his Reputation. Now, a Man so exceeding jealous of his Honour, and obliged to converse (which as

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an Officer he must do) with his Superiors, Inferiors, and Equals, it would unavoidably happen, that Things would sometimes pass in Conversation, which his Humour could not easily digest. This occasioned frequent Disputes and Quarrels between him and those Gentlemen of the Army who were not acquainted with his Foible. For though he was not quarrellsome or passionate, yet his Notions of Honour were so high and elevated, and his Regard for it so sacred and religious, that the very Thoughts of a Blemish struck him with the utmost Sensibility. This, however, was the chief Cause of his quitting the Army, and taking to the Course of Life he has followed ever since, I mean that of Smuggling.

WHEN he first thought of turning Smuggler, he judged it proper to join himself to some Traders in that Way, in order to understand the Nature of the Business, what Sort of Goods were to be dealt in, and with whom, and upon what Terms to traffick. He soon found, that he should meet with a strenuous Opposition from the Farmers-General, a powerful Body, and who besides had the King's Troops at their Command, to suppress any Encroachments upon them. These were Difficulties enough to discourage a Man of less Spirit than *Mandrin*.

AMBITION was the Passion of his Soul, which not being able to gratify in the Army, as he had much rather have done, and a Method being now pointed out to him to render his Name famous to Posterity, he resolves to embrace the Occasion that now offered to distinguish himself by some memorable Actions and Atchievements that should make a shining Figure in the Book of Fame. For this Purpose he summons all the Smugglers round the Country, and desires their Attendance at an Assembly to be held at *Carouge* on the Borders of *Savoy* on a Day appointed. At the same Time he sends Notice to several broken Officers of his Acquaintance, whom he knew to be Men of Courage, and capable of facing
any

any Danger, desires their Company at *Carouge* at such a Time, and to bring with them as many brave Fellows as they could pick up.

ALL obeyed his Summons, and a very large Meeting it was. For as his Person and Character were well known all over that Country, none doubted but he had something extraordinary to communicate to them, which they impatiently expected to hear from him. He did not keep them long in Suspence, but soon delivered his Mind in the following Harangue.

Gentlemen and Fellow-Soldiers,

‘ **T** H A T every Man’s Fortune is in his own
 ‘ Power, is so far true, that whoever exerts
 ‘ himself with Vigour in the Pursuit either of Fame
 ‘ or Riches, is rarely disappointed: Whereas the La-
 ‘ zy and Indolent, the Meek and Humble, the Ti-
 ‘ morous and Cowardly, had rather patiently endure
 ‘ the Buffets of Fortune, and be trampled under
 ‘ Foot by the Insolence of Power, than seek Redress
 ‘ by the Means which Providence has put in their
 ‘ own Hands. We are placed among the Refuse of
 ‘ Mankind, and accounted the Offscouring of the
 ‘ World. Men look upon us as Thieves, Robbers,
 ‘ and the common Disturbers of the publick Peace.
 ‘ But how comes it that such a Notion is so univer-
 ‘ sally propagated and so generally received? Can
 ‘ any Man say, we ever plundered his House, or took
 ‘ a Purse upon the Highway? Has not every Man
 ‘ we deal with, Goods for his Money? Why then
 ‘ are we stigmatized as the declared Enemies of Man-
 ‘ kind, the Pests of Society, the Ring-leaders of Se-
 ‘ dition, and Disturbers of the Government? Who
 ‘ is injured by our Traffick? It will be answered,
 ‘ the Farmers, a Body of Men very considerable for
 ‘ the Posts they hold, and their Authority and Power,
 ‘ which are very extensive. For by how much the
 ‘ Trade

' Trade of Smuggling increases, by so much will
 ' their Gains be diminished. This is the horrid
 ' Crime which has exposed us to the Censure and Re-
 ' sentment of the Generality. For this we are pur-
 ' sued with an Hue and Cry thro' the Nation, pro-
 ' scribed, a Price set on our Heads, and condemned
 ' unheard and without Mercy. But now suppose we
 ' should turn the Tables, and examine into the
 ' Grounds of these Clamours so unjustly raised against
 ' us, will it not be found, that the Men who set up
 ' this Outcry, are the only Persons who can be sup-
 ' posed to be wronged? But how are they injured?
 ' Why, negatively: By our stopping some of the
 ' Channels of their Gains, they are prevented from
 ' raising such immense Fortunes on the Miseries of
 ' the Publick, so suddenly as they commonly used to
 ' do. The Publick suffers not by our Trade; for
 ' the People are glad to have their Necessaries suppli-
 ' ed at reasonable Rates; the Poor are greatly re-
 ' lieved, and Mechanics and Handicrafts are better
 ' enabled to provide for their Families, work cheap-
 ' er, and consequently sell their Manufactures at a
 ' more moderate Price, than when harrassed and op-
 ' pressed for Duties on every Thing proper for their
 ' Use in their several Trades by these tyrannizing
 ' Farmers, who would not leave them their Skins, if
 ' they could take them without endangering the
 ' Lives of the wretched Sufferers. So that it's plain
 ' to Demonstration, that Smuggling is so far from
 ' being prejudicial to Trade, that Commerce re-
 ' ceives infinite Advantages from it; and none
 ' but these Cormorants, who devour Widows Houses,
 ' and fatten on the Spoils of the Poor, can pretend
 ' to receive any Detriment from your generous and
 ' friendly Method of Trafficking.

' Thus far, my Friends, you see it is evident we
 ' have Justice on our Side, and our Practice is laud-
 ' able, beneficial to the Poor, and adds Life and Spi-
 ' rit to Commerce in general. What hinders then,
 ' but

‘ but that you vigorously pursue the same commendable
 ‘ Methods of Traffick you have been hitherto enga-
 ‘ ged in ? You will say, we are ready and willing to
 ‘ continue our Practice ; but the Hazards and Dis-
 ‘ couragements we meet with are so many, and our
 ‘ Losses so great by the frequent Seizures the Far-
 ‘ mers Officers make of our Goods, that our Gains
 ‘ upon the whole are but trifling, and hardly bal-
 ‘ lance the Hazard we run. Besides, when we ga-
 ‘ ther into a Body, with a Design to make ourselves
 ‘ formidable to the Officers, the Farmers have the
 ‘ Army at their Beck, and instantly send for a Party
 ‘ of armed Soldiers, with whom it is in vain for a
 ‘ Parcel of undisciplin’d Men to engage.

‘ I AM very sensible, Gentlemen, that this is the
 ‘ very Truth of the Case ; yet I hope to convince you,
 ‘ before I have done, that the Evil, how great soever
 ‘ it may seem, is not without a Remedy. In order
 ‘ to find out this, it will be proper to examine the
 ‘ Causes and Grounds of it. You rightly observe,
 ‘ that for undisciplin’d Men to oppose themselves
 ‘ against a Body of regular Troops, is a vain, rash,
 ‘ and dangerous Attempt. Hence I gather, that
 ‘ Want of Discipline, not of Numbers, is the prin-
 ‘ cipal Cause of your Misfortunes. Upon this Foun-
 ‘ dation, I shall endeavour to raise a Structure that
 ‘ shall give you a Prospect of better Success for the
 ‘ future.

‘ I NEED not tell you, Gentlemen, since you all
 ‘ know me, that I have long serv’d as an Officer in
 ‘ the Army, nor are you uninform’d of my Cha-
 ‘ racter and Reputation, which it don’t become me
 ‘ to enlarge upon. These Gentlemen you see by me,
 ‘ were my Associates in Arms, and by their Conduct
 ‘ and Bravery were entitled to much better Rewards
 ‘ than they have met with. And indeed it is but too
 ‘ often the hard Fate of Merit, that it meets with no
 ‘ other Recompence than the Pleasure which arises
 ‘ from the Consciousness of performing laudable Ac-

tions. Now, if you will put yourselves under our Conduct and Discipline, I will engage to make you, in a short Time, as good Soldiers as any in the King's Army, and capable of facing any Number of Troops that shall be sent against you. You shall be properly regimented and officer'd, and occasionally divided in Bands and Companies, which shall make Expeditions in different Provinces; which will occasion such a Deception to the Farmers, and so distract their Measures that it will be impossible for them to act consistently. For while they are sending their Forces to suppress a Party of Smugglers in one Province, presently they are told of the Progress made by these Traders in another, which requires no less speedy Assistance than the other. So that by dividing their Troops we shall be the better able to deal with them; and in the mean while so harass them, by appearing in different Places at the same Time, that their Soldiers will have but little Appetite for the Service. This is my Scheme, which if you approve, shall be immediately put in Execution. The Advantages resulting from it are certain, and the Dangers to be encountered not to be regarded by Men of true Bravery, especially as it will put us upon an equal Footing with our sworn Enemies the Farmers.

THE Assembly approved his Proposal, and instantly resolved, *Nem. Con.* to put themselves under his Conduct, and give him a plenary Power to act in all Things as their Head and Chief, and to direct the Affairs of their Society by his own Authority and Judgment. The first Thing he did, after he was thus invested, was, to divide his People into Centuries, and over every Century to place a Lieutenant, with other inferior Officers. These Officers he ordered to instruct the Men in martial Discipline according to the Usage of the Army. His next Business was to procure Arms and Ammunition for his Men,

Men, without which their Discipline would be but of small Service to them. After they had been well instructed in their Exercifes, he begins his Expeditions. *Carouge*, a Place on the Frontiers of *Savoy*, not far from *Geneva*, was their usual Rendezvous, from whence they carried on their Traffick to divers Provinces of *France*, into which they knew how to make their Way, in spite of the Detachments of regular Troops sent to watch them ; and they actually made many successful Trips into the Country, and return'd again in Safety to their Head Quarters.

THUS, in a little Time, they became so famous, that abundance of People went to *Carouge* out of Curiosity to see them, and some perhaps to deal with them. From *Carouge*, when they had Occasion to go into *Switzerland*, they forded the River *Arve*, which separates the Territories of *Geneva* from those of *Savoy*, but always travell'd in the Night, and with a great deal of Precaution ; after they have gone about a Mile upon the Territory of *Geneva*, they proceed to *Chablais*, pass the Lake, and then go to *Neuf-Chatel* to buy up what Quantity of Tobacco they want. Then returning by the same Route to *Carouge*, they immediately ranged themselves by Bands under their proper Heads, each of which was under the Command and Direction of an Officer of tried Courage and Conduct, and all acknowledging *Mandrin* for their supreme Head and Captain-General, who assigned them the respective Routes they were to take. Some he ordered to march into *Dauphiny*, others into the *Lyonois* and *Auvergne*, and others into *Franche-Compte*, *Burgundy*, and *Champagne*.

THE 6th of *December* last he returned at the Head of 100 Men from an Incurfion he had made into the three last mentioned Provinces, and the next Day he fet out from *Carouge* for *Switzerland* ; but left on the Confines of *Burgundy* another Detachment under the Command of one of his Lieutenants, with Orders to act as usual in his Absence ; that is, to keep

a good Look-out, and be careful not to be surpriz'd by their Enemies, to avoid all Quarrels and Conteſts with the People in the Neighbourhood of their Reſidence in the *Swiſs* Territories, and to behave towards all with ſuch Circumſpection as to give no Room for Complaints againſt them.

MEAN while the Court was extremely alarmed at theſe vigorous Proceedings of the Smugglers, who acted with ſuch Prudence and Regularity, as eaſily ſhewed they were governed by a Head who underſtood what he was about. The Beginning of *November*, the Court had an Account of a ſharp Action between the King's Troops and the Smugglers, in which ſeveral were killed on both Sides; but the Latter being out-number'd, were oblig'd to retreat, and leave a great Quantity of Goods behind them. The Miniſtry at length thought of an Expedient, which they imagined would ſoon put an End to theſe Diſorders; which was, to employ Irregulars only againſt the Smugglers, and to give them whatever they ſhould take for their Pains. This ſeemed to be as proper a Method for the Purpoſe as Prudence could ſuggeſt; and yet *Mandrin* has ſo well kept them in Play ever ſince, by his dextrous Management, that they have but little Reaſon to boaſt of the Advantages gain'd over him.

ABOUT the ſame Time a Party of the Smugglers made their Appearance at *Roan*, but ſtaid not longer than to bait their Horſes. They gave the Inhabitants Notice, however, that they would return in the Space of three Weeks, and bring with them Salt, Tobacco, Watches, and Gold Snuff-Boxes; and ordered 35,000 Livres to be got ready againſt their Coming. They were divided into three Bands, marching with Drums, Fifes, and other martial Muſick: *Mandrin* their Chief was then dreſſed in White turned up with Red, bearing the Croſs of *St. Louis*.

Soon after this Expedition to *Roan*, where they did no other Miſchief than putting the People into a terrible

rible Fright, they paid a Visit to *Puy in Velay*. Upon their first Appearance there, all the Excisemen, or rather, all the Farmers Officers or Collectors in Town, fled to the Storekeepers of Tobacco, where they put themselves in a Posture of Defence, and sustained a Kind of Siege. But their Fortress soon became too hot for them; for the Assailants, pressing them very closely, they were soon obliged to quit their Post and make their Escape over the Tops of the Houses. The Smugglers meeting with no more Resistance, entered the Storekeeper's House, and loaded their Horses with the Tobacco, &c. they found there. One of the Besiegers being killed in the Attack, the Smugglers compelled the Clergy to read the Service over him, committing the Body of their dear Brother to the Ground in sure and certain Hope of his Resurrection to eternal Life through *J. C.* Their Wounded they carried off with them; so that it seems the Action, while it lasted, was pretty sharp and bloody, at least on the Side of the Smugglers, who were exposed to the Fire of the Besieged from their Holes and Windows, without being able to annoy them much behind their Fastnesses.

HAVING dispatched their Business at *Puy*, they directed their March towards the Bridge of *Vaux* near *Macon*, and so on towards the *Loire*. Their Course might easily be traced by the Disorders they committed, and the Contributions they extorted both from the Towns and Villages thro' which they passed, under Pretext of bringing them Goods to the Amount. Among others, they paid a Visit to the Lady of Marshal *Maillebois*, who was forced to take their Word for 50,000 Livres she paid them in ready Money, upon their verbal Assurance they would bring her Goods to that Value.

ABOUT the latter End of *November*, the Gang of Smugglers were so prodigiously increased, that they became more formidable than ever. They,

without

without any Fear or Dread of the King's Troops, or any others who should presume to oppose them, went about from City to City, to the great Terror of the People, forcing them to take their Merchandize, and to give them for it the Price which they thought fit to set upon it. They pretended to great Probity, and even Generosity in their Dealings, since it was in their Power to exact what they pleased, and yet took but a moderate Price for their Goods. *Mandrin* their Chief, was become so famous for his bold and intrepid Behaviour, that he gives Title to those who signalize themselves by daring Actions. His Ambition, it's said, has carried him to such a Pitch of Extravagance, that he has instituted an Order of Knighthood, and gave the Ensigns as a Reward of Bravery.

THE following remarkable Story is related of this extraordinary Man. Having been informed, that the Lord of the Estate, upon which he and his Gang usually resided, had promised a Reward of 3000 Livres for taking him, alive or dead, went and presented himself to the Lord, and before he made himself known, told him, he had brought the Head of *Mandrin*, and without further Discourse, added, he was the Man, and that he expected the Reward he had offered for taking him, or, upon his Refusal, would plunder his Castle. The Lord perceiving he was accompanied by two resolute Fellows well armed, and apprehending he would be as good as his Word, thought fit to pay him the Reward he had promised; upon which *Mandrin* retired.

THE next Place where we heard of them was, at *Lyons*, where they carried on their Trade in their usual Manner. Two of their Chiefs having dined one Day with a Clergyman in that Neighbourhood. After Dinner, the Clergyman ordered Pipes and Tobacco and a Bottle of Wine to be set on the Table, to accommodate his Guests in the genteelest Manner he could. In the Way of Conversation, they en-

quired,

quired, how much Tobacco he might use in a Year? When they were satisfied in that Point, they computed how many Years a Man of his Age might probably live, and provided him with a proportionable Quantity of Tobacco for that Term, and obliged him to pay for it.

THE next News we heard of them was, about the Beginning of *December*; that having disposed of all their Goods, they began to deal upon Credit; or, in plain Terms, to plunder without Mercy; that in this Manner they acted at the same Time in distant Provinces; for at the very Instant they appeared in the Neighbourhood of *Lyons*, there came Advice, that another Body of them had committed the like Outrages in *Champagne*; and that by their different and sudden Motions, they had hitherto eluded the Pursuit of the regular Troops, who had been able to do little or nothing against them; but that the Peasants, in several Places, had killed about a Score, and made as many Prisoners.

IN the Beginning of *January*, we were informed of the following Exploit of the Smugglers at the Town of *Beaune* in *Burgundy*. The Inhabitants of that Place hearing that a Band of Smugglers were approaching the Town, caused the Gates to be shut; and the Smugglers not being able to open them, applied to the Scholars of a Seminary without the Gates to get them opened, and threatened to set Fire to their House, if they refused. The Scholars being terrified with these Threats, undertook to get Admittance into the Town, and the Smugglers, following them close as soon as the Gates were opened, found the Burghers under Arms; upon which they told them, no Mischief should ensue, if they would consent to give them the Sum they demanded, which was 50,000 Livres; but on the Magistrates representing the Impossibility of raising the Money, they lowered their Demand to 25,000, for which they

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gave

gave Tobacco ; having received the Money, they went away quietly.

UPON Advice that the Smugglers made the Principality of *Neuf-châtel* and that Part of *Switzerland* which borders upon the Lake of *Geneva*, the great Magazine for their Effects, the Ministry immediately concerted Measures to deprive them of that Resource. Pursuant to which, light Troops were sent after them, by which there was some Probability they would be reduced, because the Smugglers it was said, had fallen out among themselves, and several of them began to repent, on a Surmise they should be made the Dupes of their Chief *Mandrin*. There seems however but little Ground for this Report, since he has always acted with the same Vigour and Resolution, and exposed himself as much upon all hazardous Attempts, as he did at their first Outset, and as much as the most daring Fellow among them. They seem to have been perfectly united as well in their Actions as Interests, and have stood by one another to the utmost Peril of their Lives in the most imminent Dangers.

THE latter End of *January*, a smart Engagement happened at a Village near *Autun* between the Smugglers, and a Detachment of *Fischer's* Regiment. The Latter being in Pursuit of the Former, had blocked up near forty of them in a Farm-house, where they had intrenched themselves, and fought for some Time with great Bravery ; but finding they must be over-power'd, the House being already set on Fire by the Enemy, and being determined to conquer or die, the Moment that *Fischer's* Regiment was going to force in upon them, they made a Sally, and fought their Way through their Enemies, several of whom were killed, and many more wounded, as were several other Officers, many of whom had their Horses shot under them. The Smugglers were armed in such a Manner, that they were a Match for
five

five or six Times their own Number, each Man being prepared with ten Fires.

AFTER this Skirmish, *Mandrin* sent a Message to the Colonel of the Regiment, threatening to treat the Prisoners he had taken in the same Manner as *Fischer* should treat his. But his Menaces were so little regarded, that four of the Smugglers that were taken, were broke alive upon the Wheel. *Mandrin* allowed his Men 30 Sols a Day.

IN another Account of the above Action, we have these farther Particulars : That, animated by Rage and Despair, they cut their Way thro' the Corps that surrounded them, with the Loss only of five Men killed on the Spot. Their Chief, *Mandrin*, with six of his Men, were wounded. Four of them were made Prisoners, and carried to *Autun*, where they were broke alive upon the Wheel, which is the Punishment destin'd for all Smugglers that may be taken ; tho' some think it is inhuman to use brave Fellows in this Manner, only because they are not honest enough to resist the Temptations which foolish Governments throw in their Way by high Duties, and Excises without End. After the Action, wherein the Smugglers lost a good Part of their Booty, several Troops of Horse were sent in Pursuit of them, but could not overtake them ; if they had, much Blood would have been spilt ; for *Mandrin*, though wounded already, would not surrender so long as he could fire a Piece, or wield a Sword.

THE Name of *Mandrin* was now become terrible, especially to the Officers of the Customs, as will appear from the following Incident. About the 20th of January five Officers belonging to the Farmers of the Customs stopt, at the upper End of *Mouffetard* Street, near the *Gobelins*, a Person well armed and mounted, having behind him a large Cloak-bag quite full, and asked him what he had got behind him ? The Man answered in a rough Voice, that it was smuggled Goods ; touch them if you dare. Upon which

which the Officers went to lay hold of him ; where-upon the Fellow gave a Hollow, and then a Whistle ; adding, *My Name is Mandrin ; you'll see rare Work presently, my People are coming up.* On the Mention of *Mandrin*, the Officers imagined they saw a whole Troop of Smugglers ready to hew them to pieces, and ran off with the greatest Speed. After which the pretended *Mandrin* rode through the Town, without any Body appearing to molest him. This Adventure being told to the Company of the Farmers-General, the five Officers, who so badly acquitted themselves of their Duty, were cashier'd.

NOTWITHSTANDING the Precautions that were taken to prevent *Mandrin* from penetrating farther, after the Affair of *Autun*, he found Means to cross *Burgundy*, and advance to the Confines of *Auvergne*, attended by thirty-four of his Gang, and forty loaded Horses. Four Companies of Voluntiers, after pursuing him above a hundred Leagues, came up with them at *Sauveta*, a Village between *Puy* and *Langogne*, where he received a considerable Shock, several Soldiers and sixteen Smugglers being killed and wounded. *Mandrin* himself was taken by an Officer, but released by one of his own People, who shot the Officer through the Head with a Pistol. *Mandrin's* Lieutenant, called the *Normand*, being wounded in the Thigh, had concealed himself in a Village to get his Wound dressed, but was found by two Cavaliers, disguised like Smugglers, who carried him to *Valence*, where he soon underwent the Punishment allotted for such Offenders. Two others were likewise taken and carried to the same Place. *Mandrin* retired to the Mountains, to wait an Opportunity to rejoin his Companions, who were perfectly well armed, and fought most desperately whenever attack'd, so that then there were but little Hopes of reducing them but by Degrees.

BUT tho' the Party which *Mandrin* commanded in Person, was thus broken and dispersed, his other Bands

Bands had better Success in other Parts, and were so far from being suppressed, that their Numbers daily increased, and continued with great Intrepidity to make their Incurfions into *Burgundy*, where the open Country was all in Alarm. But upon Advice that several Detachments from the Army were marching against them, they thought it adviseable to retire, and open the Scene in some other Province.

THE next Appearance they made was in *Alsace*; where they had not been long before they were forced to an unequal Engagement with some of the King's Troops; and being defeated, forced their Passage into the County of *Liege*.

ABOUT the same Time several Reports were spread in Relation to *Mandrin*. One was, that he was actually dead of the Wounds he had received in his last Skirmish at the Village of *Sauveta*, when he was obliged to take Shelter in the Mountains. Another Report was, that being hard pressed by his Pursuers, he was obliged to jump out of a Window, broke his Thigh, and was taken. This Story was affirmed with so much Certainty, and told with so many probable Circumstances, that it gained Belief for several Days. But it was afterwards imagined, that he caused this Rumour to be spread himself, in order to amuse the Government, and make his Pursuers less vigilant and active in their Enquiries after him.

ANOTHER Rumour was likewise current, that *Mandrin*, contenting himself with the Sum of 200,000 Livres (8333*l.* 6*s.* 9*d.* which he had acquired by his different Expeditions, had retired to *Switzerland* to enjoy in Quiet the Fruits of his Labours; that his Companions had divided into several Bands under different Leaders, each of whom had taken the Name of *Mandrin* and was decorated with the Ensign of the Order with which their General had invested him: And that one of these Bands had exacted the Sum of 6000 Livres from the Carthusian Monastery of *Grenoble*.

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By another Account we were assured, with no less Certainty, that *Mandrin* was retired into the *Alps*, where he had thrown up an *Intrinchmet*, and fortified it with five Pieces of Cannon, which, the Reporters said, had put him in a Condition of making Head against a whole Army. But all these Stories seem to have been the Fruits of fertile Invention, and propagated by the Authors, either from a Vanity of telling strange Things, or to persuade their Neighbours that they were more in the Secrets of Affairs than could be known from the common Methods of Intelligence. But to proceed to Matters of Fact.

By Advices received from *Straßburg* in *Germany*, (now subject to *France*) Jan. 27. we were informed that the Smugglers who had over-run several Provinces of the Kingdom, and trading with open Force, had furnished full Employment to the Troops quarter'd in *Alsace*. Upon which, a Regiment of Dragoons, another of Horse, one of Hussars, and two of Foot, received Orders to post themselves in different Places, to watch the Motions of those declared Enemies of the Farmers. But however determined the Government might be to extirpate them, it was easily foreseen that it would cost a great deal of Labour to accomplish it. For it had been found by Experience, that in all the Actions, wherein the Troops had been engaged with them, that they were not only all resolute Fellows, and determined to sell their Lives at the dearest Rate, but that as an exact Discipline was observed among them, as in the Army itself; and that their Number was daily increasing by Deserters who came in from all Quarters to share in their Glory, or rather in the Spoil they got.

MANDRIN had now render'd himself so conspicuous by his Bravery, his prudent Measures, and dextrous Management, that the Government, judging of his Abilities from his Actions, believed he would

would prove a very useful Officer in the State if he could be prevailed upon to relinquish his present disorderly Course of Life. Accordingly very honourable Proposals were made to him if he would quit his dangerous Trade, but without Effect. *Mandrin* always affected to be thought a Man of Honour, even to the nicest Punctilio's, and therefore rejected with Contempt those Offers, however advantageous they might be to himself, since the Condition of his accepting them was, the abandoning those who had put their Confidence in him.

By a Letter received from *Chamberry* in *Savoy*, dated *January 30*, we had the following Intelligence. It runs thus: " Since the Engagement that happened last Month near *Autun* between the *Sieur Fischer* and the Smugglers headed by *Mandrin*, we heard nothing further of the Latter, nor of their Chief for some Time, and we began to take it for granted that they were totally ruined, considering how many Detachments had been posted at different Places to cut off their Retreat on the Side of *Switzerland*; so that we were not a little surprized to see 80 or 100 of those Fellows, all extremely well armed and well mounted, pass by *Carouge* in the Way to *Neuf-chatel*, in which Neighbourhood they now are. The 24th Instant, *Mandrin*, and his Lieutenant *Pierre*, also arrived at *Carouge* with six of their Guards, and staid there till the 26th, when they set forward to join their Men in *Switzerland*. Some of the Inhabitants of *Carouge* had it from their own Mouths, that those two Chiefs after the Action at *Autun*, lay concealed in a Cottage, and then took the Route of *Auvergne*, travelling eleven or twelve Leagues every Day. From thence they proceeded to *Dauphiny*, marching with great Precaution, and avoiding all the Places where there might be Troops in Ambush. They passed the *Rhine*, slipped very privately into *Provence*, and crossed the *Var*; after which directing their March towards the narrow Pass of *Tende*, they enter'd *Piedmont*, and

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so, proceeding through *Savoy*, arrived the 24th at *Carouge*. This has been a very painful and laborious Progress to them, as they constantly chose the most rugged Roads and the least frequented Paths.

AFTER this lucky and unexpected Escape, *Mandrin* and his Companions would do well to seek a Retreat in some Place where they were not known. But tho' they have display'd so much Prudence in the greatest Difficulties and Dangers, it seems they are not wise enough to know when it is Time to have done; for it seems they are resolved to make the World talk of them again."

MANDRIN and his Associates having met with a good many pretty severe Rebuffs in forcing their Trade in the *French* Provinces, the Passes into which were every-where now narrowly watch'd and guarded by Detachments from the Army, thought it the most prudent Way to retire to their Headquarters, and lie still a while, till the Noise and Clamour they had raised in the Country was somewhat appeas'd, and their Enemies, by hearing no more of them, might imagine they were dispersed, or too sick of the Lay to renew their Incursions. But though they had sustain'd considerable Losses, yet their Courage was not in the least diminished: and they only waited a seasonable Opportunity to begin again; and in the mean while concerted Measures for their future Operations.

THE next News we heard of them was in a Letter from *Grenoble*, dated *Feb. 8.* which informed, that *Mandrin*, who had been quiet for some Time, had collected his Gang again; and was crossing *Savoy* and *Piedmont*, in order to penetrate by the Way of *Nice* into *Provence*, and that their Rendezvous was between *Nice* and *Monaco*. They march'd in two Columns, unarm'd, till they came to *Pizola*, the Place where their Effects were deposited, and there they took up their Arms. The Duke de *Villars*, Governor of *Provence*, being apprized of their Design,

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sent several Detachments of his Troops to intercept them, and gave Orders to the Inhabitants of the Places they must pass through, to take up Arms against them. The Governor of *Dauphiny*, and those of other Provinces, having had the like Notice, were presently on their Guard, and took such Measures, that if these Fellows should again attempt to penetrate into *France*, it would in all Probability be the last rash Act they would ever be guilty of.

MANDRIN had soon Intelligence of these Preparations that were making for his Reception; and not being willing to tempt his Fate farther than Reason and Prudence would justify him, he forbore, for the present, to undertake an Enterprize which might prove the Ruin of himself and all his Associates. However, not to be quite idle, he found Means, to throw a Party into *Dauphiny*, as appears from the following Exploit.

By a Letter from *Lyons* dated *April 10*, we were informed, that they had received Advices from *Beauvoisin*, that the Comptroller-General of the Farms of *Dauphiny*, who some Months before had boasted he would give a good Account of *Mandrin*, and produce him either dead or alive, lately met a Man on the Road of *Grenoble*, who engaged to deliver up to him, at a certain Place named, that famous Chief of the Smugglers. The Comptroller being credulous, and eager to make good his former Brags, repaired to the Place mentioned, but took along with him an Officer of tried Bravery to assist him in case he should meet with any Opposition. But before they reached the Spot, they were suddenly surrounded by seven or eight Smugglers, who beat the Comptroller so unmercifully, that they left him for dead, but did not touch the Officer.

Soon after this Exploit, Advice was brought, that the Smugglers, who had assembled in *Savoy* to the Number of 300, had begun again their Incurfions into *France*. A Gang of about fifty advanced,

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April 21, within five Leagues of *Grenoble*; and afterwards dividing, crossed the River at the Ferry of *St. Gervais*. A Troop of Volontiers was sent after them, with Orders to pursue them throughout the whole Kingdom.

THUS have we followed *Mandrin* and his bold hardy Comrades through a Variety of Actions, during the short Time of their Reign. We have likewise seen their Method of trading with the People, which they called honourable Traffick, because they gave them Goods (when they had any) for their Money. But whether they had Goods or not, Money they must have, and the Creditor must trust to their Honesty to bring them the Goods bargain'd for. This Manner of Trading, must not, indeed, be denominated Robbery, because a Consideration is given or stipulated. Yet methinks it is something like the Highwayman's selling his Rabbit, which the Traveller must buy whether he will or no, and give every Doit he has in his Pocket for it too, or else he stands but a bad Chance for his Life. But should the Highwayman be tried for this Fact, the Question would be, whether his selling his Rabbit in this Manner would acquit him of robbing on the Highway. I am apt to think his Plea would stand him but in little stead before an upright Judge; and that the Gallows would be his Portion, notwithstanding his Pretence of an honourable Traffick.

It must likewise be allowed, that these Smugglers were brave Fellows, and in Time of Danger behaved with an Intrepidity worthy of a better Cause. But Bravery in an unlawful Action, and unsupported with Truth and Justice, can be deemed no other than the Effect of a hardened, seared Conscience, and an habitual Inclination to vicious Practices. If Courage, abstracted from the Morality of the Action, were to be considered as a Virtue, the most infamous Pyrates, Murderers, House-breakers, and Villains of every Denomination, ought to be esteemed as the most
virtuous

virtuous Men in the World, and the greatest Benefactors to Mankind, for attempting Enterprizes, which every Man, who fears to offend against the Laws of God and his Country, looks upon with Abhorrence.

BUT our *French* Traders don't consider Smuggling in this Light, and would justify their Actions by such Arguments as these: That the Farmers, who only can pretend to be injur'd by their late Proceedings, are the Oppressors of the People, and by their unmerciful Exactions, occasion the utter Ruin of many honest Families in middling Life, which by their Labour and Industry would increase Commerce, and bring Wealth and Honour to the Nation; and therefore to crush these Caterpillars, that devour whatever is green and flourishing in our Garden, is doing a real Service to the Publick. For these Reasons, instead of being looked upon as Criminals and Disturbers of the public Tranquillity, they ought to be highly respected for their Regard to the Poor, and esteemed as the best Promoters of the Trade and Manufactures of the Kingdom; and instead of being loaded with Infamy, and made to suffer the most cruel Deaths, Justice, if she could be heard, would dictate immortal Honours to their Memory in Statues of Marble and Monuments of Brass.

THUS they reason, but upon a wrong Principle. For when a Man submits himself to be governed by the Laws of his Country, as every good Subject does, he is not to exercise an extra-judicial Power over any of his Fellow-Subjects; but if he has any Grievances to complain of, either of a private or publick Nature, he must apply to the proper Tribunal, where Justice is impartially administered to all alike, agreeable to the Laws in Force.

Now the Farmers are appointed by the King, conformable to the Constitution of the State, and therefore are legally authorized to exercise their Employ-

ments, and consequently ought not to be disturbed in the Discharge of their Functions. But if they extend their Authority beyond its due Limits, and convert it into Tyranny and Oppression, they are, notwithstanding their Power, subject to the Law, and accountable for any Transgression of it, as much as the meanest Subject in the Kingdom. Since then no Man is debarr'd from applying for Justice against Oppressors though of the highest Figure, it is Presumption and Arrogance in the last Degree for any Man to take the Execution of the Laws out of the Hands of those who are duly and legally appointed to administer Justice. But to leave this Digression, let us proceed to the last Act of this Tragi-Comedy.

MANDRIN and his Bands, notwithstanding all the Methods taken to suppress them, still found Means to harras and terrify the Farmers, with but little Interruption. For no sooner was a Party of them defeated in one Province, but presently News was brought that another Detachment was levying their Tribute in some other Parts of the Country. The Troops were ordered to act with Vigour against them, Irregulars and light Troops were employed for that Purpose as being judged to be the most proper to deal with these roving Bands, and all the usual Stratagems of War had been practised to destroy them; yet *Mandrin* had the Art to evade, or the Courage and good Fortune to escape or conquer the many Rubs and Difficulties that were thrown in his Way. He never flinch'd from Danger, and was generally engaged in the hottest Part of the Service; and whenever in a Skirmish he was over-powered by Numbers, he never failed to make an honourable Retreat; and, in short, he seemed possessed of all the requisite Qualifications of a General. Yet the greatest Generals have sometimes met with their Match, and been over-reached in their own Trade of War: And this was the unhappy Fate of the brave *Mandrin*,

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By Accounts from *Valence*, dated *May 15*, this famous Chief of the Smugglers, who has made such a Noise in the World by the Contributions he has raised and exacted in many of our Cities and Towns, and the Terror he has spread through many of the Provinces, was brought Prisoner there a few Days before, being conducted by a Company of *Morliere's* Dragoons, Sabre in Hand, and Trumpet sounding at the Head of the Troop. He was taken in the Night between the 11th and 12th instant, in the Castle of *Rocheport* in *Savoy*, by a Detachment of 200 Men, consisting of Dragoons and Grassins, by a Stratagem which was thus concerted. These Troops, which were secretly posted at a small Distance from the Castle, detached five of their Body, disguised and without Arms; who offering to join themselves to *Mandrin's* Party, that Chief, believing himself perfectly secure from any Attempts, received them with Pleasure, and immediately armed them; which was no sooner done, but they instantly seized him and carried him off, together with *Pierre* his Lieutenant, Brother of the Major of the Troops, to about thirty Paces from the Castle, where the Detachment waited the Event of the Enterprize. *Mandrin* was put into a Post-Chaise, and without giving him a Moment's Respite, was brought away. They were however obliged to stay at *Voyron*, where they passed the Remainder of the Night. The News of the Taking of *Mandrin* was presently spread all round the Country. The Count *de Hospital*, who was then at *Voyron*, desired to see him. As soon as he was brought before him, the Count said, *Well! Mandrin, you see now the Fruits of your Impudence.* His Lordship added some other Reflections, but they did not in the least disconcert him; on the contrary he replied with an Air of Gaiety, and with the same easy Humour, which he had always shewn in the Height of his Prosperity. All his Answers to the Questions put to him by several Officers relating to his Expeditions, were made

made with the utmost Precision. On mentioning his Affair with *Fischer*, he said he had no more than eighteen Men with him, and that the rest of his Troops, consisting of sixty-seven Men, were two Leagues off from the Place where the Battle was fought. He had not gone far, when he was surpriz'd to see himself in the Presence of M. *Levet*; but this Change of Condition, did not in the least hinder him from maintaining his usual bold and intrepid Air. They found upon him Sixty *Louis d'Or* in Specie, and Bills for 60,000 Livres.

SINCE his being in Prison, he does not appear in the least changed, but eats and drinks with as good an Appetite as ever; and complains of nothing but of his being taken unfairly: He gives every one Liberty to see him, and answers with as much Firmness as if he was at the Head of his Troops; and treats as Cowards and Poltroons six of his People whom he found there in Irons, and were to be broke the same Week. The Prisons of this City being crowded with Smugglers, they were very busy in clearing them. The Tribunal had condemned forty to the Gallies and to be put in Chains; two others were branded and whipp'd, as were likewise two Women. Two young Fellows of *Mandrin's* Gang, one of the Age of Seventeen, the other of Twenty-two, were executed, the first hang'd, and the other broke on the Wheel.

By another Account from *Valence*, dated *May 19*, we were informed of the following Particulars. The Taking of *Mandrin*, the News of which was soon spread all round the Country, has daily drawn hither a Crowd of Strangers, out of a Curiosity to see the famous Head of the Smugglers, who, tho' guarded, has the Liberty of speaking with all who come to the Prison: He still continues to express abundance of Firmness and Courage; and when he was told of the Reports that were current Abroad on his Account, he only said: 'Tis true, I am that *Mandrin*, who
have

have made so much Noise, but not so much Mischief. Many are surpris'd that, having often declared they might take him, but should not have the Pleasure of putting him to Death, he did not, when he found himself lost, blow out his own Brains with a Pistol, or dispatch himself by Poison; for which he had sufficient Time, according to an intercepted Letter from *Piemontois*, the Chief of one of his Bands, to *Manoc*, another Chief of a Band: The Substance of this Letter, which is dated at *Elgueblettes*, May 12, is as follows:

‘ I T is with Tears in my Eyes, my dear *Manoc*,
 ‘ that I inform you of the Taking of *Mandrin*,
 ‘ the Major’s Brother, and three others of our
 ‘ Friends, who were carried this Day to *Valence*.
 ‘ Seven or eight of our Servants were killed in defend-
 ‘ ing themselves. We could never have expected
 ‘ such a Surprize; the River *Guier* was swelled and
 ‘ not fordable, the Night was so dark, that I would
 ‘ not have ventured to travel, and besides we were
 ‘ on our Guard, and in such a Condition that we did
 ‘ not think the *French* would come to attack us;
 ‘ but you will see by the faithful Relation which I
 ‘ have just had from one who was well informed of
 ‘ all that passed, that these Obstacles being once got
 ‘ over, we must all have been undone on this unfor-
 ‘ tunate Occasion, had we happened to be there.

‘ *M. de Sarre*, Lieutenant-Colonel of the *Flemish*
 ‘ *Voluntiers*, ordered forty Soldiers well armed to
 ‘ march one at a Time, out of *Pont de Beauvoisin*,
 ‘ last Night about Nine o’Clock, and to go by Bye-
 ‘ roads, that they might not be discovered, to *Pravas-*
 ‘ *Farm*, where our Enemy *Le Rouxe de la Motte* was
 ‘ killed. At the same Time he ordered forty
 ‘ Troopers, disguised like Peasants, and well armed,
 ‘ to march from *Abrest* to join them. They pro-
 ‘ ceeded in a Body to the Ford of *Romanieux*, where
 ‘ they crossed the *Guier* with the Water up to their
 ‘ Armpits.

' Armpits. It is Matter of Surprise, that, consider-
 ' ing the Darkness of the Night, and the Depth and
 ' Rapidity of the Stream, they were not all drowned.
 ' They arrived at length at the Castle of *Rocheport*
 ' so silently, that the Castle and the Out-offices
 ' were invested at Three in the Morning, before we
 ' could have any Suspicion of it: Even the Dogs were
 ' not alarm'd. Having made their Disposition, the
 ' Officer at the Head of a Party of the disguised
 ' Troopers entered the Castle broke open the Doors
 ' with an Axe, and proceeded so briskly, that none
 ' of our People had Time to look about them. *Man-*
 ' *drin* waked at the Noise, but it was too late to
 ' make Resistance, and much less to think of escaping.
 ' He left his Room, however, whilst they were search-
 ' ing below and examining the Farmer, and went up
 ' to a Garret, where he hid himself under some
 ' Faggots. It is probable, they would never have
 ' thought of looking for him there if they had not
 ' discovered his Feet; then indeed it was out of his
 ' Power to free himself from the Danger. He was
 ' taken with the Major's Brother, who lay with him,
 ' being to set out together at Five in the Morning.
 ' During this Transaction at the Castle, the rest of
 ' the Troopers were searching the Farms, where
 ' *Nismes* was taken, and several others killed or
 ' wounded in defending themselves. The People of
 ' *Rocheport* and *St. Genis* say, they never saw Men
 ' behave with more Courage and Intrepidity.'

' IN Truth this Adventure has put me out of all
 ' Hopes, and no longer can I see any Security for us:
 ' Therefore it's determined that we will not stay
 ' here to be taken. The Taking of *Mandrin* pays
 ' dear for the Death of *Le Roux*, our old Persecutor.
 ' Beware of his Successor; he has Cognizance of the
 ' same Affairs, and I perceive he has but little Incl-
 ' nation to let us live in Peace. Adieu. To-morrow
 ' I set out for *Carouge*. Signed,

PIEMONTOIS.'

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THE Reader will observe, that the Account given in this Letter of the Taking of *Mandrin*, differs, in some Circumstances, from the foregoing, though in the Main they both agree. The same Objection will probably be made against some other Parts of this Narrative. To which I answer, that I transcribed the several Advices as they came to Hand, in Letters from Persons who were supposed to have the best Intelligence; and as it often happened, that several different Persons wrote an Account of the same Transaction, it's natural to imagine they frequently varied in their Relations according as their Prejudices prevailed for one Side or the other, or from the different Information they had respectively received of the Affair.

It may perhaps too be objected, that these Memoirs must needs be defective, since it may reasonably be supposed, that during the Length of Time these Smugglers traffick'd in the Manner above related, and considering the many Incursions they made into several Provinces, they must certainly have been engaged in many more Actions than I have given an Account of. This is granted: But if we reflect that the Smugglers Dealings lay chiefly among the Farmers, who chose to conceal their Losses and Vexations, since they were sensible their Misfortunes would but give the People Occasion to insult them, it's no Wonder we have so few Particulars of the disagreeable Treatment they met with from these Freebooters. And as to the Smugglers, we may be assured they never boasted of the Advantages they gained in this compulsive Trade with the Farmers; because in so doing, they would have acted against their own Interest, and raised the Alarm to such a Degree, that they would have found it difficult to trade at all. Silence and Secresy in the Management of their Affairs were the most likely Methods to procure them Success. So that for these, and other Reasons that might be given, many Incidents and Exploits, that would

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have

have afforded a good deal of Amusement, have not come to the Knowledge of the Publick. Yet thus much may be said, that by the Matters above related, we are sufficiently acquainted with the Manner and Method of the Smugglers Traffick; of their Strength, Numbers and Courage, and the bold Stand they made against the Forces that were employed to suppress them.

I HAVE one Observation more concerning these Outlaws, and that is, That though they were well armed, yet so strict was the Discipline observed among them, that they were never guilty of barbarous Usage to any Man, nor committed any Violence but when they met with Opposition. At their Head Quarters, on the Borders of *Savoy* and *Switzerland*, they were remarkably quiet and inoffensive, and the Inhabitants were as secure in their Properties, as if they had an Army of their own to protect them. And though they are not to be justified in their Attacks upon the Farmers in *France*, yet the ill Use those Gentlemen made of their Power in oppressing the People, they erroneously imagined, was a sufficient Excuse for treating them so roughly as they did.

BUT the Capture of *Mandrin* has not so wholly engrossed the Conversation of the Inquisitive as to make them neglect the discussing another very material Point, namely, the Place where he was taken, *i. e.* the Castle of *Roche fort*, situated on the Frontiers, and within the Territories of *Savoy* which may prove a Bone of Contention between the two Courts, if his *Sardinian* Majesty should strenuously insist on Reparation for so notorious a Violation of his Rights. For it is affirmed, that *M. de Morliere*, Commander of the Detachment employed in this Expedition, entered that King's Dominions, with an armed Force without Licence, killed ten or twelve Peasants his Subjects, and wounded several more, among a great Number that were assembled to oppose his Enterprize.

prize. The Governor of *Savoy* immediately dispatched a Courier to *Turin*, to acquaint his *Sardinian* Majesty with the whole Affair, and all the Circumstances that attended it; and at the same Time sent a Senator of *Chambery*, and a Lieutenant of Cavalry, to *Grenoble*, to reclaim the Prisoners: But it is very probable their Demand would not be complied with, though it is very certain that the *French* Troops, in breaking into the Castle in Question, and committing Hostilities on the Territory of *Savoy*, is a manifest Infraction of the Law of Nations. How this Affair will end is uncertain; but it is thought the Court of *France*, will endeavour to palliate this unlucky Adventure by convincing his *Sardinian* Majesty of the Necessity of taking such Measures, since no other that had been pursued had availed, to suppress a Set of desperate Villains who had disturbed the Peace of the Kingdom, and been guilty of so many notorious Outrages in several of the Provinces; and presuming that his *Sardinian* Majesty will not permit his Towns and Castles to be made Asylums for the Protection of Banditti and publick Plunderers; nor persuade himself, that this Attempt in his Dominions to seize the rebellious Subjects of *France*, was designed to interrupt the Friendship and Harmony subsisting between the two Crowns. However the King of *France*, to shew how unwilling he is to disoblige his *Sardinian* Majesty, has promised that a strict Examination shall be made into the Affair; and if his Officers have exceeded their Commission by unnecessary or unwarrantable Acts of Hostility, they shall be brought to a severe Account for their Excesses.

By a Letter from Valence, dated May 25, we have the following Particulars relating to his Trial.

‘SINCE the 13th inst. that the famous *Man-*
 ‘*drin* was brought to our Goal, his Trial has
 ‘lasted: it ended Yesterday. He was examined

every Morning and Afternoon. The first Day of his Examination M. *Levet* made him sit down, called him Monsieur *Mandrin*, and asked him a great many Questions, to which he answered with a chearful and confident Air. Next Day he was confronted with Grand *Bertie*, his Servant, who was broke on the Wheel the same Day, and who having been guilty of Murder and Desertion from several Regiments, had merited his Punishment for former Crimes. This Fellow accused *Mandrin* in his Depositions, and discovered all he knew on being put to the Torture.

On the 16th was executed one *Lapierre*, formerly a Drummer and Deserter from *Gante's* Volunteers, who having discovered all, was not put to the Torture. This Man, at the Time of his being taken, was *Mandrin's* Groom. He was also confronted with his Master, and maintained the Whole of his Confession to his Face: *Mandrin* made no Answer, save only, that the Evidence of a Servant ought not to be regarded. *Lapierre* replied, that he ought not to be suspected of imposing upon an earthly Court, as he was going to appear immediately before the Tribunal of God. The Passing of Sentence on Grand *Bertie* and *Lapierre*, who acknowledged the Justice of their Punishment for the Expiation of their Crimes, made some Impression on *Mandrin*, especially when they were delivered to the Executioner; however, he went immediately to drown in Wine those gloomy Thoughts which seemed to trouble him. He has been successively confronted with other Prisoners of his Gang, and several Witnesses of his Exploits, but would never say any Thing against his Comrades; insisting, that Honour required this of him, and that the Actions of others did not concern him, who never concealed his own Actions. Yesterday Sentence was passed on him to be broke upon the Wheel, but to be previously put to the Torture.

At

‘ AT first he would neither see nor hear any Priest or Monk; but a Jesuit has at last brought him to Confession. As they were bringing him here, on seeing the Major’s Brother, who was taken with him, much afflicted at the Thoughts of being dragged to a Goal, and afterwards suffering an ignominious Death, he told him, *it was not worth being grieved at, a bad Quarter of an Hour would be soon over.*

‘ *MANDRIN* is the Son of a Peasant who dealt in Cattle, near *La Cote St. Andre* and *St. Marcellin* in *Dauphiny*. His first Employment was that of a Dealer in Horses, which he followed some Years; but having committed a Murder, and fled from Justice, he was condemned in his Absence, by the Parliament of *Grenoble*, to be broke on the Wheel. Some Years after, a Warrant for apprehending him was issued by the Officers of the Mint at *Lyons*, for counterfeiting the Coin; for which Crime his Brother was hanged at *Grenoble*. Having thus twice escaped the Punishment he deserved, and willing to provide for his future Safety, he made himself Head of the Smugglers which has brought him to the Scaffold, where he will finish his famous Career. He probably foresaw it; for the People crowding very much to see him one Day this Week, as he was going through the Yard to the Court Room, he complained of their hasty Curiosity, saying, *they would see him soon enough at the Place of Execution.* *Mandrin* is a Man middle-siz’d, well made, long-visaged, with blue Eyes, and red chesnut Hair: he is strong, robust, and has something brutal in his Countenance, which agrees very well with his continual Swearing. He smokes for ever, drinks a great deal, and loves good Eating.

THE following is the Sentence passed upon *Lewis Mandrin* on the 24th of *May*, and executed on the 26th.

Gaspart

Gaspard Livet, Lord of Malaval, Counsellor, Secretary to the King, and Commissary of the Council, nominated by Arrêts of the 3d of December, 1738, the 2d of October, 1742, and the 2d of April, 1743, to instruct and judge without Appeal, and in Cases of the last Resort in the Trial of Smugglers, of those engaged in illegal Pursuits, &c. in the Provinces of Dauphiné, Languedoc, Lyonnois, Burgundy, Auvergne, &c.

WE the Commissioners of the Council, by a Judgment without Appeal, and in the last Resort, in Virtue of the Power received by the said Arrêt of the 3d of December 1738, and by the Advice of the Graduates, and assisting Judges, of the Number required by the Ordonnance, have declared *Lewis Mandrin*, a Native of *Dauphiny*, duly convicted of having carried on a contrabrand Trade, in an unlawful Assembly, and by Force of Arms, during the two Years that he has been obliged to leave his Abode, on account of his having counterfeited the Coin, and committed Murder; and particularly for having been the Chief of a Gang of eleven or twelve Smugglers, &c. For the Reparation of which, and the other Crimes proved against him, we have condemned the said *Lewis Mandrin* to be delivered to the Executioner of Justice, to be stripped to his Shirt, with a Rope about his Neck, and a Writing affixed to him, containing these Words in large Characters, 'The Chief of Smugglers, of Criminals guilty of High Treason, of Assassins, Robbers, and Disturbers of the Public Peace,' holding in his Hand a lighted Wax Candle of the Weight of two Pounds, before the Cathedral Church of *Valence* in *Dauphiny*, where the said *Mandrin*, bare-headed and kneeling, shall declare with a loud Voice, that he begs Pardon of God, of the King, and of the Officers of Justice, for all the Crimes and Villainies by him committed. He shall then

then be taken to the Place of Execution, and there have his Arms, Legs, Thighs, and back broken while alive, on a Scaffold prepared for that Purpose, and at length be put on a Wheel with his Face turned towards Heaven, where he is to end his Life. After which, his dead Body shall by the Executioner be exposed on the Gibbet of that City. Previously to this, the said *Mandrin* shall be put to the Question Ordinary and Extraordinary by Torture, in order to obtain from his own Mouth the Truth of any of the Facts mentioned in his Trial, together with the Discovery of his Accomplices. We also hereby declare all and each of his Goods and Effects confiscated to the King, &c.

*Given in the Presidial Court for criminal Causes at Valence in Dauphiné, the 23d of May, 1755.
Signed, Livet, Gaillard, Luiller, Bolozon, Bachassan, Rouveyre de Leytang & Cozon.*

THAT *Mandrin* was bold, resolute, and undaunted in the most imminent Dangers and the most hazardous Enterprizes, in carrying on his illegal Traffick, is not to be doubted, since it appears in every Action wherein he was concerned. This Intrepidity he might naturally acquire in the Army, where Death and Dangers were the daily Objects of his Attention, and where an Emulation to be distinguished by Bravery was the only Way to Preferment. *Mandrin*, however, though not inferior to any Officer in the Army, either in Courage or Conduct, yet finding those Rewards, which, in his Opinion, his Merit entitled him to, advance but slowly, and his high Spirit not brooking the supercilious Demeanour of some of his superior Officers, he quitted the Camp, though not the Hardiness and Ferocity he had gained there.

BUT how bold and daring soever a Man may shew himself when his Life is in Danger, yet this is not always

ways an infallible Sign of a cool and well-governed Courage. Despair has often made Cowards bold, and inspired them with a Resolution they were naturally Strangers to ; and Desperadoes, who have broke through all Restraints of Religion and Conscience, who believe nothing of Futurity, and imagine the worst Hell they can be punished with, is Poverty and Contempt ; such Men, who have nothing to fear, unless the Punishment inflicted by the Laws if they are taken, run all Hazards in perpetrating their Villanies ; Murder, Rapine, and every other Crime, they make no more of than they do of eating when they are hungry, or sleeping when they are weary. Conscience being stupified or master'd by a long and uninterrupted Course of Wickedness, has lost its Efficacy and is no longer heard. If some uneasy Reflection happens to start up, and seems to forbid the Prosecution of some villainous Enterprize, it is instantly drowned in a Flood of Wine, or silenced by the Clamours and Outrages of debauched Companions.

BUT if it should happen that Justice overtakes the Offender in the Carier of his Villanies, and he sees Death, which he can no longer escape, with all its dreadful Apparatus, the Rack, Wheel, and the most exquisite Torments waiting for him ; Conscience then, whether he will or no, resumes her Tribunal, and calls him to a strict Account for all his past Enormities ; it paints his former Actions in their true Colours, which now appear so ugly as to frighten him with Terror and Amaze. But his Terror is infinitely aggravated with the Apprehension that, after he has undergone all the Tortures that his Flesh is capable of sustaining, he must immediately appear before a Tribunal, where by an inexorable Judge and an irrevocable Sentence, he will be inevitably fixed in a State of Misery beyond Redemption. Despair, Horror, and Confusion seize his amazed Soul, and he rushes out of that Life which he has so much abused, into another with a certain Expectance of meeting with a Retribution that

that alone can be adequate to the Crimes he has been guilty of.

MUCH in the same Manner has it far'd with the intrepid *Mandrin*, who was executed *May 26*, pursuant to the Sentence passed upon him the 23^d. 'Tis true, both before, and during the Time of his Trial, he seem'd as if quite unconcerned, not in the least disconcerted at his approaching Fate, which he knew would be attended with the most dreadful and terrifying Circumstances. He knew that the Duration of his Tortures would be but short, and was firmly persuaded Death would put a final Period to all his Pains, and therefore resolved to bear all with as much Firmness as he had encountered Danger in the most hazardous Enterprizes.

HOWEVER, the Scene was soon changed, when the Priest came to do him the last good Office that it was possible to do him in this World, that is, to bring him to a due Sense of his Guilt, and to persuade him to a sincere Repentance.

He expatiated largely on the Outrages and Depredations he had committed against Persons who had never offended him; the many Murders that had been perpetrated by him, and through his Means, upon his innocent Fellow-Subjects who never designed him any Harm; and his Offences against the King, his Laws and Ordinances, which he had notoriously broke through; that he had destroyed, as much as in him lay, the Peace and Tranquillity of the Publick and the Harmony of Society: All which were Crimes of so black and odious a Nature, that nothing but his Death could expiate. That since it was not in his Power to make an adequate Satisfaction for the Injuries he had done his Country, yet it became him to do what was in his Power, namely, to confess his Crimes with a sincere Contrition. Which if he did with a full Conviction, though he could have no Hopes of Mercy from his Earthly Judge, yet he had good Ground to assure himself of Pardon from his Heavenly.

THIS pious Harangue of the good Priest made a sensible Impression on *Mandrin*. He began to view his past Actions in a Light different from whatever he had done before ; and by Degrees was brought to acknowledge the Heinousness of his Crimes and the Justice of his Sentence. But at the same Time saw the Impossibility of making Reparation for the Wrongs he had done his Country or the Breaches he had made in the Laws of God. These Considerations filled his Soul with gloomy Reflections, which still increased by the nearer Approach of his Death. His Confessor used the best Arguments he could to open his Mind to better Prospects. How far he prevailed is not in our Power to say : Let us hope the best.

THUS far our *French* Author, to whom all the Places mentioned in these Memoirs were well known ; though not to the *English* Reader ; for whose Information therefore I have here added a Description of the particular Cities, Towns, &c. where most of the Exploits before related were performed. And first I shall give a cursory View of *France*, *Savoy*, and *Switzerland*, the Sovereignties in which these Smugglers exhibited their Scenes of Action.

FRANCE, from West to East, is 600 Miles in Length ; from North to South, 500 Miles in Breadth, and is divided into 15 large Provinces.

As to the Constitution of the Government, it is certain they were once a free People, until the Reign of *Lewis XIII*, and every Province almost had its Parliament, without whose Concurrence no Affairs of Consequence were transacted. To *Card. Richlieu* they are indebted for the Destruction of that Constitution, and rendering *France* an absolute Monarchy in that Prince's Reign. The Females, by the *Salique* Law, are never suffered to ascend the Throne.

THE Forces of *France* in Time of Peace, are about 200,000, and in Time of War 400,000, besides a considerable Fleet of Men of War ; they had not less than

than a hundred Ships of the Line in the Reign of Lewis XIV.

THE ordinary Revenues of the Crown amount to about fifteen Millions Sterling, and they are enlarged at Pleasure, by raising the Value of the Coin, compounding State-Bills, or Debentures, and other arbitrary Measures.

THE usual Method of raising Taxes is by the *Taille*, or Land-Tax.

THE *Taillon*, which the Nobility are obliged to pay as well as the Commons, is only another Land-Tax.

By Aids, which we call Customs on Merchandize.

By Gabels, which is a Tax upon Salt.

By a Capitation, or Poll-Tax.

By the Tenths of Estates and Employments.

By the Sale of Offices of Justice.

By a Tenth, or Free-Gift of the Clergy ; and,

By Confiscations and Forfeitures.

THE Accounts in *France* are kept in *Livres*, *Sols*, and *Deniers* ; twelve *Deniers* make a *Sol* or *Sou*, twenty *Sols* a *Livre*. They reckon also by Crowns (*Ecus*) ; a Crown contains three *Livres*, or sixty *Sols*, and was formerly of equal Value with 4*s*. 6*d*. *English*, but is worth at present but between twenty and thirty-two Pence of our Money, more or less, according to the Fluctuation of the Exchange. The other Monies of *France* are a *Double*, which is two *Deniers* ; a *Liard* the fourth Part of a *Sol* ; Pieces of 3 half and five *Sols*. The Quarter and the Half-crown, the two *Livres* Piece. They have also Gold, Crown Pieces, *Louis d'Or*, and half *Louis d'Or* ; the *Louis d'Or* is now worth twenty-four *Livres*, or about twenty-four Shillings.

THE established Religion is *Popery*, since the *Protestants* have been suppressed, as they were in 1684 ; but they would never admit the Inquisition here : The Pope's Supremacy was rejected till the present Reign ; but, according to the Constitution

Unigenitus, the Pope's Supremacy seems now to be established, and every Ecclesiastick is obliged to subscribe that Constitution; though every Parliament opposed this Measure with great Warmth, as well as the Clergy.

THE Number of People in *France*, before the Persecution and Expulsion of the *Protestants*, was computed at twenty Millions; but now they are not more than fifteen Millions; their continual Wars, as well as Persecutions, having much lessen'd their Numbers.

THERE are seventeen Archbishopricks in *France*, one hundred and five Suffragans, and eighteen Universities, besides several Academies.

THE Language of *France* is a Mixture of *Latin* and *Hig-Dutch*, or *German*, but the *Latin* prevails most. It has been very much improved and refined by the Academy of *Paris*, and is spoke in most of the Courts of *Europe*.

SAVOY was antiently possessed by the *Allobroges*, and reduced under the Obedience of the *Romans* in the Reign of *Augustus*; and, having been successively subject to the Northern Nations which destroyed the *Roman* Empire, it was, at length, incorporated with the Kingdom of *Burgundy*, on the Ruin whereof the Emperor of *Germany* possessed himself of it, and conferred it on *Hugh*, Duke of *Saxony*, creating him Duke of *Saxony* and Prince of *Piedmont*, in which Family it still continues.

THE King of *Sardinia*, its Sovereign, is an absolute Prince, and the Crown hereditary; but the Administration of the Government, in the several Territories he possesses, is committed to as many Councils, and they are governed by their respective Laws, where the King does not interpose. *Savoy* is but a barren Country; and, lying on the *French* Side of the *Alps*, whenever a War breaks out, is immediately seized by the *French*, but usually restored upon a Peace.

THE

THE Religion of the King of *Sardinia's* Subjects, is generally Popery ; though there are some Protestants in the Valleys of the *Vaudois*, who have undergone several severe Persecutions, but by the Mediation of the Protestant Powers, are sometimes suffered to live at Quiet.

SWITZERLAND, formerly *Helvetia*, is, in Length, from East to West, 260 Miles ; in Breadth, from North to South, 100 Miles ; and is bounded by *Alsace* and *Swabia* in *Germany* on the N. by the Lake of *Constance*, *Tyrol*, and *Trent* on the E. by *Italy* on the S. and by *France* on the W.

It is divided into 13 Cantons, six whereof are Protestant, and seven Popish.

SWITZERLAND lies upon the *Alps*, the highest Mountains in *Europe*, and every Canton almost is separated from the other by a particular Chain of Mountains ; and there is a Lake almost on every Mountain.

THE Mountains being covered with Snow great Part of the Year, and their Lakes and Rivers frozen, the Air is very cold in Winter ; and, when the Hills are cool in Summer, the Valleys are very warm. It is Winter on the North-Side of a Mountain sometimes when it is Summer on the other ; and the Harvest-Time of one is the Seed-Time of the other. Their Mountains produce good Timber and Pasture ; and they have large Flocks and Herds of Cattle, with Game, Fish, and Fowl in Abundance, but very little Corn or Wine. Their Manufactures and Traffick are very inconsiderable, and consequently they are very poor ; and for that Reason prohibit the Wear of all Lace and Jewels, and are extremely frugal. They lay up Magazines of Corn in every Province against a Time of Scarcity. They are a brave, hardy People. and the whole Country is regimented, and serve by Turns in foreign Wars, where they get more than by any Employment at Home.

BEING

BEING oppressed by the *German* Emperors to whom they were subject, they threw off their Allegiance, and erected themselves into independent States; and, at the Treaty of *Westphalia*, they were acknowledged free and independent, as the *United Provinces* were at the same Treaty.

B E R N and the larger Cantons, are Aristocracies. In *Bern*, which is the largest, the Legislative Power is lodged in the Great Council, or Diet, consisting of 299 of the most substantial Inhabitants; and the Executive Power in the Senate of 27, elected out of the Great Council. In the little Democratical Cantons, the Legislative Power is lodged in the diffusive Body of the People; and every Male above sixteen, whether Master or Servant, has a Vote in making Laws, and in the Choice of Magistrates. There is a general Diet of all the Cantons held at *Baden*, at *Midsummer*, annually. The Protestants also have a general Diet of their Persuasion, and the Papists another of theirs, but they seldom sit longer than a Month.

HAVING thus given a general View of the different Territories, in, to, and from which the Smugglers carried on their Traffick, I shall next describe very concisely, the several Cities, Towns, &c. in or near to which they distinguished themselves by some remarkable Occurrence or notable Exploit, either against the Farmers, or the *French* Troops that were sent to suppress them.

NEUF-CHATEL, from whence the Smugglers fetched their Tobacco to traffick within *France*, is a Republick, and an Ally of the *Switzers*, though the King of *Prussia* is stiled Sovereign of its Territory.

THE City of *Geneva*, near to which they passed in their Way to *Neuf-chatel*, is situate on the River *Rhone*, at the West-End of the Lake *Lemain*, 70 Miles S. W. of *Bern*, and 40 Miles N. E. of *Lyons* in *France*, and is about two Miles in Circumference;

admired

admired for its Situation on the Lake and River and the fine Prospects it affords. The Territories of *France* and *Savoy*, come up to the very Walls; and they would long since have been reduced under the Obedience of one or the other, if they had not been under the Protection of the *Swiss* Cantons. The Inhabitants of *Geneva* are said to be about 30,000 Souls. Hither the *Calvinists* from *England*, *France* and *Holland* frequently resort for Education in the University; as others do to *Lusanne*, another University, situate in the Canton of *Bern*, on the North-Side of the Lake *Leman*. The Legislative Power of *Geneva* is lodged in a Council of 200, and the Senate consisting of 25 Members, have the Executive Power. The Clergy here have neither Glebe or Tythes, but a Revenue of 50*l.* per *Ann.* paid by the States; and there are no Salaries allowed to their Fellows or Professors in the Universities, but are maintained chiefly by their Pupils.

THE Language in *Switzerland* is either *High-Dutch*, *French*, or *Italian*, according to the Countries which lie next them. At *Geneva* they speak good *French*, but in other Parts of *Switzerland* it is very much corrupted.

CHAMBERRY, a considerable City and Castle of *Italy*, the Metropolis of *Savoy*. It is a Parliament City for this Principality, subject to the Duke of *Savoy*. Whenever a War breaks out on that Side, the *French* generally become Masters of it, but on the Conclusion of a Peace it always returns to its right Owner. It stands 27 Miles N. E. of *Grenoble*, 44 S. of *Geneva*, 55 W. of *Lyons*, 100 N. W. of *Turin*, and 270 S. E. of *Paris*.

THE Bridge of *Beauvoisin*, from which the Detachment was sent to seize *Mandrin* in the Castle of *Rochefort*, crosses a little River that falls into the *Rhone* at a small Distance from it. *St. Genis* stands upon the same River, but nearer to the *Rhone*; the Castle of *Rochefort* is but a little Way from it; and

Carouge

Carouge at no great Distance from the Castle ; all situate on the Frontiers of *Savoy*.

AUTUN, (near to which was the Farm-House, in which *Mandrin* was besieged with a Detachment of *Fischer's* Regiment, through which he fought his Way and escaped) is an antient and episcopal City of *Burgundy*, the Capital of the Country of *Autunois*, about 14 Leagues S. W. from *Dijon*, it was a considerable Town of the People called *Ædui*, when the *Romans* conquered *Gaul*, *Augustus* made it a *Roman* Colony, for which Reason it took its Name ; *Dunum*, from *Dun*, which signifies an Hill, expresses its Situation ; for it lies at the Foot of three high Hills, on the East and South, the latter of which abounds with so many Springs, that they supply the whole City with Water. The River *Aroux* washes the antient Walls of it, the Remains of which are so strongly built, and the Stones of it so smooth and well joined, that one should think one single Stone surrounds the whole, and that it is but one entire Rock. The Town is about a Mile in Length, almost as much in Breadth ; in the Middle of it is a fine Square. Here are several Remains of Antiquity. The *Druids* had here a Senate, which is still called *Mont-Dru* : That which is called *Janitoye*, was a Temple of *Janus* ; *Mont-Fou* was a Temple consecrated to *Jupiter* ; there are also Remains of a Temple of *Diana*. The Bishop of *Autun* is Suffragan of the Archbishop of *Lyons*, and has in his Diocese 611 Parishes and 14 Abbeys. There are eight Parishes in the City and Suburbs, two Hospitals, a noble Seminary for the Education of young Clerks, which has 3000 Livres a Year Income, and another much less, which has no other Revenues than what the King pleases to allow it.

LYONS is the Capital City of *Lyonnois*, on the Conflux of the *Saone* and the *Rhone* ; it is one of the finest and most considerable Cities in *Europe*, for its Situation, Extent and Riches. It was founded in
the

the Year 41 or 42, before the Christian *Æra*, by *Lucius Manucius Plancus* who was Consul with *Æmilius Lepidus*; he peopled it with Roman Citizens, who had been driven from *Vienne* by the *Allobroges*. However, he did not give it a Roman Name; but the Town kept the Name of *Lugdun*, which the *Gauls* had bestowed on the Hill upon which that Place was built, and which in their Language signified the *Hill of Ravens*. After *Augustus* had separated from the *Celti* several Provinces, which he joined with *Aquitania*, he ordered that *Lyons* should be the Capital of a Province, which from thence was called *Lugdunensis*. *Lyons* became afterwards under the Roman Emperors, one of the most considerable Cities in the Empire. There was nothing more famous in *Gaul*, after the Romans had conquered it, than the Temple, which sixty Nations of the Country built at *Lyons* to the Honour of the Romans, and of *Augustus*; each of these Nations gave a Statue with Inscriptions to adorn the Altar they had erected to that Emperor. When *Caligula* received at *Lyons* for the third Time the Honour of the Consulship, he established all Sorts of Games, and that famous Academy, where the most famous Orators met before the Altar of *Augustus*, to contend for the Prize of Eloquence. This City, about an hundred Years after it was built, was reduced to Ashes by Lightning in one Night. *Nero* sent a large Sum of Money to rebuild it, by which, in less than 20 Years, *Lyons* was in a Condition to stand out against the City of *Vienna*, which followed the Party of *Galba* against *Vitellius*. In *Lyons* are still some Remains of the stately Buildings, with which the Romans had adorned it.

LYONS, at present, is the second City of *France*, and inferior to none but *Paris*. Being situated in the Center of *Europe*, it carries on a most Flourishing Trade. They reckon it contains 4000 Houses, and above 90,000 Souls. There are four Collegiate Churches,

Churches, besides the Cathedral, thirteen Parishes, four Abbeys, four Priories, about fifty Convents, two Hospitals, Six Gates, and four Suburbs, two Colleges of Jesuits. Their Library contains 40,000 Volumes. There are here several fine Squares, in which stands the Town-house or Guildhall, one of the finest in Europe. On each Side of the Front is a Wing 420 Feet long. In the Middle of the Front is a Tower or Cupola on the Top, and in the Angles are two large Pavillions jutting out. The great Gate is adorned with two Columns of the *Ionick* Order, and leads into a large Hall arched over, where are to be seen the Busts of *Philip the Fair*, *Charles VIII.* and *Henry IV.* Likewise an antient Plate of Brass, on which is engraved the Oration, which the Emperor *Claudius*, when he was yet but Censor, deliver'd before the Roman Senate in Behalf of the Citizens of Lyons. The Fort called *Pierre Ancise*, serves as a Prison for State Criminals.

THE *Exchange* is not so considerable for its Extent, as the Number of Merchants who daily meet there, and by Words or Paper carry on almost the whole Trade of the Kingdom. This City is the See of an Archbishoprick.

GRENOBLE in *Dauphiné*, is situated on the Conflux of the *Isere* and the *Drac*, in a Plain at the Foot of the Mountains. It received its Name from the Emperor *Gratian*, Son of *Valentinian I.* from whence it is called in *Latin Gratianopolis*; but it was much more antient, and called *Cularo*, and belonged to the *Allabroges*. It has been a Bishop's See ever since the fourth Century. The *Delphinal* Council established here in 1340 by *Humbert II.* Dauphin of *Viennois*, was erected into a Parliament in 1453, by *Lewis XI.* The Governor and Lieutenant of the Province reside here, and have Seats in the Parliament above the first President. This City is well peopled, and commanded by a Fort called *la Bastille*. The *Isere* divides the City into two unequal Parts; we see

no fine Buildings here, except the Bishop's Palace, which owes its Beauty to Cardinal *le Comus*, Bishop of *Grenoble*, who adorned it with excellent Paintings, representing our Saviour's Life and Passion. The Skins and Gloves of *Grenoble* are very much esteemed; but the Woollen Stuffs, of which they make a great many here, are but coarse. In the Diocese of *Grenoble* are 304 Parishes, 240 of which are in *Dauphiné*, and 64 in *Savoy*. There is not one Abbey of Men in the whole Diocese, and but one of Maidens, *viz.* that of *Hayes*, of the *Cistercian* Order.

VALENCE, whither *Mandrin* was brought and imprisoned, after being taken at the Castle of *Roche-fort*, stands on the Eastern Side of the *Rhone*, seven Leagues from the *Die*, nine from *Viviers*, and eleven from *Vienne*. It is one of the most antient Cities of *Gaul*, since it was already a *Roman* Colony in the Time of *Pliny the Elder*, who lived under *Nero* and *Vespasian*. It is reasonably large and well built, the Walls are very strong, but the Citadel raised by *Francis I.* is but indifferent. There are several fine Buildings, as the Cathedral Church, the Bishop's Palace, &c. This Bishoprick is very antient, for we find a Bishop there in the Year 300. The Income of it is now about 14,000 Livres a Year. There are in this Diocese an hundred and five Parishes, seventy of which are in *Dauphiné*, and thirty-five in *Vivarais*, and but four Abbeys, two of Men, and as many of Maidens. The University which was founded at *Grenoble*, by Dauphin *Hubert II.* was removed to *Valence* by *Lewis XI.* Dauphin and afterwards King of *France*.¹ Here are taught Divinity, the Civil and Canon Laws, and Physick.

VELAY is a small Country in *Linguedoc*, has *Vivarais* on the East, *Forez* on the North, *Auvergne* on the West, and *Gevandan* on the South. It is full of Mountains, which are very cold, being covered with Snow about Six Months in the Year. However it produces more Wheat than the Inha-

bitants have Occasion for : Their greatest Riches consist in their Cattle.

THE most considerable Place in *Velay* is *Puy*, or *Puy en Velay*, which stands on a Mountain, near the River *Loire*, at the Distance of about two Leagues from the antient Town of *Ruescum*, now the Village of *St. Paulham*, out of the Ruins of which it took its Rise, seventeen Leagues from *Viviers* to the North, West, and twenty from *Lyons* to the South-West, and not above four from the Border of *Auvergne*, a fair and well-built City, and an Episcopal See, which depends immediately on that of *Rome*, not being subject to any Metropolitan ; though for the inferior Discipline of the Church, it acknowledges the Authority of the Archbishop of *Bourges*. The Cathedral, dedicated to the Virgin *Mary*, is an antient and noble Pile of Building, but more especially famous for the Concourse of Pilgrims, and other devout Persons frequently resorting thereto. Here are also several Parochial Churches, and a great Number of Monasteries. The Bishop, whose Diocese extends over the whole Country of *Velay*, has the Title of Count of it, and had formerly the Privilege to coin Money. He administers Justice together with the King's Seneschal, who has a Seat here. They make at *Puy* a vast Quantity of Laces, which returns them a great deal of Money.

STRASBURG is the most considerable capital City of all *Alsace*, and was raised on or near the Ruins of the antient *Argentoratum*, which the Romans built for a Bulwark to their Empire against the Germans. It is situated on the River *Ill*, and was built near the Highway called *Strata* by the Latin Writers of the middle Age, whence that City took its Name of *Strateburgum*. The *Ill* runs through the City, and a League below falls into the *Rhine*.

THIS City has enjoyed great Privileges ; the Emperor *Maximilian I.* gave it the Right to coin Gold Money

Money stamped with the Image of the blessed Virgin, with this Inscription, *Urbem, Virgo, tuam serva, O Virgin, defend this City*; which when the *Straßburgers* embraced the Reformation, was changed into this, *Urbem Cbriste, tuam serva, O Christ, defend thy City*.

THE Government of *Straßburg* was formerly in the Hands of the Nobility; but the Commoners, or *Plebeians* having got the Superiority, it was ordained that the six chief Magistrates must prove that they are of a *Plebeian* Family, otherwise they are not admitted. The Citizens were distributed into thirty-eight Companies of Tradesmen, which have since been reduced to twenty.

THE University enjoys many Privileges, granted by the Emperor *Maximilian II.* and *Ferdinand II.* It is composed of the Four Faculties, and governed by *Lutheran* Professors, who take the Titles of Deans and Canons of *St. Thomas*, because the Revenues of that Collegiate Church have been annexed to the University. They confer Degrees both on the Roman Catholics and Protestants, except in Divinity. The Jesuits have here a noble College, in which are thirty two Fellowships for Students of Philosophy and Divinity, twenty-four of whom must be Natives of the Province. This College has 36,000 Livres Income *per Ann.*

STRASBURGH is a Town of vast Extent, and has a double Wall and Ditch all round it; the inner Wall is old, and of no Strength; nor is the outward Wall very good; so that it was not capable of making a long Resistance, till the late *French* King added such Works to it, as have rendered it one of the strongest Places in *Europe*.

THERE are several fine Buildings in this City; but the most remarkable is the Cathedral, which is one of the grandest in *Europe*; above a thousand Years have been spent in building it; the Steeple is a noble Pyramid being 570 Foot high; the Ascent to the Top is by a Staircase of 635 Steps.

IN

IN this Church is a Clock, which is esteemed a Master-piece of *Astronomy* and *Mechanicks*, as well for the Variety as Singularity of its Motions ; shewing the Months and Days, marking the Vigils and Festivals, pointing out the Eclipses of the Sun and Moon, the Course of the Heavens, the *Phases* or Aspects of the Moon, and its Age, with many other curious Particulars ; and on the Top of the Arch stands a Cock made of Metal, which stretches its Neck and crows, before the Hour strikes. The famous *Copernicus* is said to be the Contriver of this noble Clock.

MACON, or *Mascon*, is a City of *Burgundy*, situate on the River *Soane*, which separates it from the Country of *Bresse*, and over which there is a Bridge of thirteen Arches, 300 Feet long, and six Feet broad ; it stands on the Declivity of a Hill, about seven Leagues W. from *Cballon*. It is semicircular, about 1300 Paces in Length, 600 in Breadth, and 3000 in Compass ; the Streets are narrow and close ; it is supposed to contain about 6000 Souls. The Cathedral is narrow and dark, though the Vault or Cieling be pretty high ; it has a Set of Bells, the Chime of which is reckoned one of the most harmonious in *France*. The Bishop is Suffragan of *Lyons*. Here is also a Collegiate Church, several Convents of Monks and Nuns, a College of Jesuits, and two Hospitals. This City is the Capital of the Country of *Maconnois*, famous for its excellent Wine. There is at *Macon* a particular Governor, and a Lieutenant from the King. For Civil Justice there is a *Presidial Court*, and for the Finances an *Election*, which is a Court erected to compute the Proportion which every Parish must raise in their Division of the Sum demanded by the King for one Year. There is also a publick Granary for Salt.

VILLE FRANCHE is the capital City of *Beaujolois*, five Leagues from *Lyons* and six from *Macon*, on the River *Morgon*, which falls into the
Soane

Soane one League above it. Here is an *Election*, a Granary for Salt, and a very fine Street, so broad, that it seems a Square extending from one End of the City to the other, in the Middle of which there is a beautiful Fountain. This City was founded by *Humbert* the fourth of that Name, Lord of *Beaujou*, towards the Beginning of the 12th Century; among the other Privileges he granted it, in order to draw Inhabitants thither, there was one very extraordinary: He gave the Husbands Leave to beat their Wives till the Blood run, without being punished for it, provided they did not kill them. This City is surrounded with strong Walls and broad Ditches. There is here an Academy of Men of Wit.

ROUANE, or *Roane*, from which this Part of the Country is often called *Rouanez* or *Rouannois*, is situate in the *Lower Forez* in the *Lyonnois*. It is an antient City mentioned by *Ptolomy* as one of the chief Places of the *Segusiani*. Here the *Loire* begins to be navigable, which renders the Situation of this City very convenient for trading with *Lyons* and the adjacent Provinces. *Roannois* is a Duchy, made such in the Year 1366, in Behalf of *Claude Gouffier* Marq. of *Boissy*. It has been since raised to the Dignity of a *Duchy-Peerdom* in 1716, in Favour of *Lewis d'Ambusson*, Duke of *Roannois*, called also *Duke de la Feuillade*.

VIENNE, a City of *Dauphiné*, is situated at the Foot of a Mountain on the River *Rhone*, where it receives the *Jera*, about thirteen Leagues from *Grenoble*, seven from *Lyons*, and twelve from *Valence*. It has been a very large and famous City, but at present is not above the fourth Part of its former Extent; and both its antient Fortresses, *Pipes* and *Baste'es*, are now demolished. It was founded, as it's generally believed, by the *Allobroges*, and afterwards became a Colony of the *Romans*, who adorned it with a Palace, an Amphitheatre, and divers other magnificent Works, the Ruins whereof are still visible.

After

After the Decay of the Empire, this City was for some Time the Capital of the Kingdom of *Burgundy* and has been subject to many Masters. It is the See of an Archbishop, who has the Title of Grand Primate of the Primates of *France*. It's said, that *St. Crescens*, the Disciple of *St. Paul*, was its first Prelate. The Inhabitants are very expert in making Plates of Iron and Steel, Paper, &c.

DAUPHINE being the native Country of our famous Chief *Mandrin*, some Account of that Province may be expected. *Dauphiné*, in *Latin* *Dalphinatus*, is separated from *Lyonnois* and *Languedoc* on the N. by the *Rhone*; the same River parts it on the N. from *Bresse* and *Bugey*, on which Side it also borders on *Savoy*; on the E. it is separated from *Piedmont* and *Savoy* by the *Alps*; and on the S. it has *Provence* and the Country of *Avignon*. It lies between 44 half of Latitude, almost to the 46, and from the 5th Degr. of Longitude E. of *London*, to 7 and half. It has been subject to different Princes, according to the Revolutions, which the several Parts of *France* underwent. At last it had particular Princes of its own who had the Title of *Dauphins de Viennois*; they were almost continually at War with the Counts of *Savoy*. *Dauphin Humbert*, being in a bad State of Health, and having no Children, made his Country over to King *Philip VI.* of *France*, on Condition that the Privileges of the Subjects should be kept entire, that the Province should for ever be incorporated with the Crown of *France*, and the King's eldest Son enjoy it, with the Arms and Title of *Dauphin*: This was done in the Year 1343, and confirmed in 1349.

F I N I S.

